1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and *Gobas*, according to the numerical strength of the quotas furnished by their respective districts and villages. Thus the Kahlon who brought a few hundreds was dignified with the title of *Stong-pon*,* "chief of a thousand," or colonel; a wealthy Goba who could muster from 50 to 100 men, was styled *Gyapon*,† "chief of a hundred," or captain; while an inferior Goba who was attended by only four or five men, was called *Chu-pon*,‡ "chief of ten," or serjeant.

The camp (*Maggar*§), which was pitched without any regularity, consisted almost entirely of black tents made of yák's hair. The Kahlons and some others had white blanket tents, but these were so few in number as not to affect the general sombre appearance of the camp. When, however, the cooking commenced, and volumes of smoke began to issue from the open roofs of the tents, now ascending in fantastic curls, and now whirling rapidly round and spreading a milky canopy over the black tents, the Boti camp wore a very picturesque appearance. During the day little was heard but the busy hum of men preparing their food or cleaning their arms, but towards evening the whole air frequently rang with noisy brawls and angry squabbles, which gave but too convincing a proof of the powerful influence of their favourite *chang*.

All disputes in camp were settled at once by stripes or fine, according to the sentence of an assembly of officers, whose decisions were final. These assemblies

* *Stong-dPon*, commander of one thousand.

† *b,rGya-dPon*, commander of one hundred.

‡ *bChu-dPon*, commander of ten.

§ *dMag-sGar*, a "military camp," to distinguish it from the common encampment of the Nomads, *sGar*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

687 were exactly the same as our drum-head courts-martial;
698 and their sentences were accordingly termed *Makkhrim*,* or martial law.

705 The soldiers were obliged to find their own food.
726 Each man was therefore generally attended by another male member of his house or family, who carried the joint provisions on his back during the daily marches, while the soldier carried his arms. Occasionally they
702 relieved one another. In case of a casualty also the state had a substitute at hand, while the family preserved the arms and clothes, and (if he had one) the horse of the defunct, all of which would otherwise have been lost.

721 Although these bodies of undisciplined militia were not deserving of the name of an army, yet they were generally strong enough to repel all attacks of their immediate neighbours of Balti, Rudok, and Chumurti, who were as poor and as unsoldierly as themselves; while the great poverty of the country, and the extreme rigour of the climate, were sufficient to deter the effeminate Kashmiris from even thinking of such a project without
721 a shudder. In fact, there is no record of any invasion
173 of Ladák by the Kashmiris; on the contrary, the Raja Taringini relates the entire conquest and occupation of Kashmir by the Boti *Rinchana*, or, as he is more commonly called in Kashmir to this day, *Ratanjo*,† about the middle of the fourteenth century. Rinchana was the son of *Bakhtán Bhot*; that is, he was probably of the *Yasan* family, which still bears the title of *Bakhto*. Being driven from his native country, he naturally fled

* *dMag-khrims*, "war-law."

† *Jo* or *Cho* is the Tibetan *mChhog*, the common title of a chief amongst the Boti Mahomedans.

SIN--rdikpa. The inexpiable sins are the murder of a father, a mother, or an "arhat" or one who is about to attain "nirvána." Other chief sins are murder, lying, theft, fornication, and drunkenness. 688

SIR--In Tibetan there is no word for "Sir;" it is not required, as the language of "respect" is almost a language in [147] itself. The word "joo" or "jooley" added to a sentence is a term of respect, thus a servant saying "yes, Sir" would say "kasa joo." The word "Sahib" is pretty will [sic] understood near Leh. 195 576

SLATE--hiámángs. This word means "slate," but as "slate" is the only kind of slab stone known to Ladákis, all slab stones are termed "slate." Samthra (or samtha) is the name of the wooden boards used like school-slates. Dust is scattered on them, and on this the children write. 135 872

SLAVERY--GHóyálches. In former days there used to be three classes of slaves in Ladák. One class consisted of Tartars from the high Chángtháng plain, which stretches from the eastern frontier of Ladák to the vicinity of the Mánásarwar Lake, who had in their childhood been sold by their parents to people of Ladák. Those were termed "GHóyál" and were slaves in the ordinary sense of the word. About 1873, Mr. Johnson, who was then Wazeer of Ladák, ordered all these slaves to be set at liberty, and he prohibited the further traffic in Tartar children. Of the slaves then set free, a few elected to remain in Ladák, but the large majority returned to their own country. Another class of slaves consisted of the illegitimate children of Dógra or Kashmiri sepoys, etc., by women of Ladák. These were termed "GHulámzádah" and were State slaves; they were supported by the Kashmir State, and had to work without receiving any pay. They were not permitted to leave the country. About 1868, an attempt was made to convert them into agriculturists, but owing to their want of skill and capital, the attempt failed. In 1871, Mr. Drew, who was then Wazeer, obtained the Maharaja's permission to set them free. They have long since been absorbed into the general population of the country. The third class consisted of State debtors, or their descendants. These debtors were fraudulent debtors having made away with, or 567 [848] 687 567 426

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák.

[150]

774 776 787 273 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

December brings snow to the valleys. Thus Lahul is frozen tight most of the year. There is no place for much stock. A dzo or a cow or two is all a family has.

Even the independent farmers work land that usually is not theirs. They are largely squatters on government domain—families who have taken a likely-looking bench above a river, cleared it of rocks, and planted barley. Maybe the project prospered; more than likely it failed. And so one sees along the Chandra and the Bhaga grim outlines of old fields long forsaken. The family has moved on to another location, seeking brighter prospects.

I sat with my Sikh friend, Mahindar Singh Randhawa, the Tehsildar of Kyelang, as he held court at Jispa, fourteen miles above Kyelang. We sat in the open at a table on the edge of a stand of ancient juniper three or four feet in diameter while alpine choughs (glossy black with yellow beaks and red legs) soared overhead. Lahulis had come in from miles around for the court session. The men stood huddled around us, twisting their brimless and loosely woven wool caps. They were awed by the occasion—solemn and frightened too. This was the long arm of the law reaching out from remote Delhi to touch the lowliest of them. Their womenfolk and children had come to court with them. The women sat quietly in a circle on the perimeter of the court, knitting stockings and nursing babies. Women and children were also grim. There was no laughter in the crowd, no playfulness among the youngsters. This was the day of reckoning for their menfolk.

This court had no marshal, no court crier to announce it—no "oyez, oyez, oyez." The Tehsildar convened court by calling the names of the cases. The cases were actually *Punjab* vs. *Sonam*, *Punjab* vs. *Thundup*, *Punjab* vs. *Tsering*, etc. But this kind and warmhearted judge merely called the names of the farmers, and each replied. There were dozens of cases, and they took hours. The following is typical.

"Sonam, where is your farm?"

695 687 "Three miles below Jispa on the bench just below the junipers on the right hand of the Bhaga."

"That is government land."

"Yes."

"Did you pay for it?"

"No."

"Have you paid taxes?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"I have no money."

"How long have you been there?"

"Ten years."

"What crops do you grow?"

[243] "Barley and a few vegetables."

"How much barley a year?"

"One year I got very little. In other years just enough for me and my family. I have a wife and four children. They are over there" (pointing).

"Have you animals?"

[231] "My brother and I have a dzo between us. He works land near me. We both live in Jispa and walk three miles to our land every morning. My wife walks too, but she is not strong any more. Is there land we can have closer to our home?"

"All this land is government land. If you want it, you must make application for it. Then you must pay taxes. You never made application. You just walked onto the land and claimed it. And you have never paid any taxes."

"That is true. But how can I pay?" he asked with despair in his voice.

687 651 This was the story over and over again. The sun had set and a cool wind whistling down from Baralacha Pass was rustling the papers on the table when the Tehsildar took a recess for the day. Later this friendly officer sat with Rahul and me eating dinner

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

in the dak bungalow—soup, hamburgers, cocoa, canned fruit, and *chapattis*. Discussion turned to the court session.

"Are these families on this land legally?" I asked.

"No. They are all illegal squatters. The law of Punjab provides that a man may homestead public land and that he has a period of time to make payment for it. But he must pay."

"How much must he pay?"

"About two hundred rupees [forty dollars] an acre."

"Have any paid?"

"None."

"Do they all owe arrears in taxes?"

"Yes, all of them."

"What is the law of Punjab in such cases?"

"The squatters must be ejected."

"Is that what you are going to do tomorrow? Eject them?"

There was a long pause.

"None will be ejected," he finally replied with emphasis. "You are a judge and you know that law is law but that the law is not always justice."

I nodded but answered, "Yet this is public property."

"True," he replied, "but these farmers are India's outposts. They occupy land bordering countries that may be unfriendly. It is important that India keep this border country populated. Certainly Soviet Communism exploits every discontent in India. It is better that India sacrifice her legal rights or even lose a part of her public domain and have happy people here than that she enforce her legal rights and end up with discontented citizens on this sensitive northern border."

"Why can't the people pay taxes?"

His eyes were now wide with seriousness. "Why, these people only subsist. They raise barely enough to live. They trade barley for wool from Tibet and make their own clothes. I suppose none of the families we saw this afternoon has a cash income each year of even ten rupees."

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER X

"Curiouser & Curiouser"

563
162

YET another trek awaits us, for we have not yet seen the Changpă, the nomad who wanders over the high plateaus of Western Tibet, and the Botpa who is the real inhabitant of the Closed

648 Land. A dispute about the actual boundary between Ladak and Tibet must be settled on the border itself whither the British Joint Commissioner, Major Robson, who holds a watching brief for the Government of India, the Wazir Sahib, who represents his Highness, the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Doctor Sahib, who accompanies the former, must travel to meet a gentleman who is styled the "Gaspon," and who acts on behalf of His Holiness, the Dalai Lama.

●687
648 The cause of the dispute was a Ladaki who had settled down in Tibet proper, where he had taken unto himself a lady of the country as wife, and had grown rich. As a result he became liable for the heavy Tibetan taxation, and, wishing to escape this, he returned to Ladak and settled down on his own side of the border. But our Tibetan friends were not to be done out of their taxes quite so easily, for they calmly entered Ladak, seized their man, and took him back again. His brother then appealed to the Kashmir authorities and the Government of India on his behalf, and these naturally objected to such high-handed procedure. Tibet tried to contest the matter by saying that the place from which they had removed the Ladaki was in Tibetan territory, but from

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the discussions which were subsequently held at this conference, there seemed to be absolutely no doubt that they had no grounds at all for their contentions.

So off we go one beautiful summer evening from Leh to accomplish our first stage, which happens to be quite an easy one. There is a beauty about the summer evenings and the sunsets, especially in the autumn, of this long stretch of broad valley through which the Indus runs, which must be hard to rival in any other of the world's uplands. The roads we travel do not vary much from others we have described, and a detailed account would be tedious, so let us just look at a picture here and there as we go along.

We are now travelling with the representative of his Majesty the King, one of that splendid set of men working for the good of India and the maintenance of the Empire, of whom we are justly proud. Our reception in each village testifies to the fact of his exalted position. As we enter, we are met by the village band, consisting of two to three kettle-drums, and a similar number of flageolets. High up on the hill overlooking the village stands the monastery, and on the edge of the roof twenty to thirty lamas, silhouetted against the evening sky, are busy with their musical honours, wearing their red priestly robes and those weirdly shaped hats which lamas like to don. At one end are several lamas with big flat drums, measuring about three feet in diameter and about a third of the thickness of an English drum, with a handle attached to the brim so that they are supported by the hand underneath at the level of the waist; in shape they much resemble the old fashioned warming-pan. An ordinary drumstick may be good enough for an Englishman, but here something with a more characteristic shape is preferred, so it is formed like a long sign of interrogation. Next to the drummers are those who clash fine large brass cymbals with a very resonant clang. One of our English friends has made a pair of these into a dinner-gong, and a very imperative